1: Honigmann E-6 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Mohave ND12

[626] hostility, but it also seems to spring from the individual's personal desire to be left alone;
[157] hence he respects another's privacy. Such attitudes, however, do not always inhibit gossip, which is derived from latent antagonisms or which sometimes functions as a vehicle of social control.

[681] The chief sanctions imposed by the Indian community include gossip, ostracism, and supernaturally derived insanity. Fear and terror are the formal sanctions imposed by the white society. Gossip is the common result of failure to share grub and capital goods or control aggression, and also follows adultery. Since gossip is also an expression of interpersonal hostility, its functions are wider than social control. As might be expected, the dual uses of gossip succeed in complicating its utility as a means of social control. That is to say, people often use gossip more as a retaliatory device than as a sanction, and this in turn creates antagonisms in the atmosphere even when it leads to a modification of behavior.

[626] [183] Ostracism is an ideal sanction which in practice tends to be avoided for fear of giving too direct offense to a defaulter. Hida reacted for this ideal pattern when he said that an aggressive person, one who is "too much mean, swear, cranky," will be avoided by the people. "Nobody look after that kind of man. Everybody he don't want him." A man who becomes aggressive under alcohol may be quietly left out of a drinking party, although nobody would refuse an invitation to share his beer. On the other hand, if the offensive person appears on the scene of a beer drink, there is no way to prevent him from joining the group.

[681] [626] Insanity and debauchery are supernaturally derived sanctions which are popularly feared to follow infractions of society conspiracy and other forms of incest. Insanity is also believed to occur: "If you think about girl too much . . . If you want to play with girl too much."

[626] [138] [697] Fines are feared not so much because they deprive one of wealth than because they involve appearance in court and expose the individual to questioning and public censure. Arrest is the most dreaded sanction, and this fear is reinforced by the frequently repeated story of one of Riley Joe's sons. Several years ago the youth was arrested on the complaint of a white man for a carnal offense. Found guilty, he was sent to prison for one year. The incarceration is widely supposed to have affected him mentally, although other reports blame his subsequent break-down on a too intense interest in girls. At any rate, upon his release from prison, the young man showed psychotic reactions and once more had to be removed from the area for confinement. He is still a patient in a mental hospital near Vancouver. This incident is very much in the memory of the people and helps to reinforce the strong fear of arrest. Nobody was jailed during the period of field work, one reason for this being the lack of jail facilities in Lower Post. It may, however, a jail was built in the town and the constable is reported to have promised that it would be readily used if necessity demanded. Imprisonment outside of the area is reserved for serious crimes involving sentences of a year or more.

[68] Offenses against life and the person are rare. Premarital sexuality, especially when a person among whites and seventeen year olds, could be construed as a crime according to national law but tends to be ignored by the police (who would have difficulty securing evidence), and is not regarded as a serious offense by Indians. In the past, one or two girls at McDame Creek have been sent to reform school for pronounced sexual delinquency.

[illegible] begun. Most girls begin when they are fifteen or younger, and boys when they approach [illegible]. Sometimes prohibiting instructors are not consistently recognized. A number of [illegible] say that they would not have intercourse with a girl who is menstruating; they will, however, permit a girl in this condition to masturbate them. Other boys deny such inhibitions or else utilize a condom with a menstruant. Men are generally reluctant to have intercourse with a girl who is found to be venereally diseased, but will do so if condoms are available. "French sales," as condoms are locally designated, were largely secured from soldiers and construction workers during Highway construction but are now sold by one of the independent traders who secures them through truck drivers hauling from Dorrance Creek. Coitus is not avoided before a hunting trip, in fact a man who expects to be away hunting for some time may make a point of securing intercourse before leaving.

[illegible] When interrogated, most of the younger men are keenly interested in describing their sexual partners. They recount such feats as obtaining several orgasms or copulating with three and four different girls in a single night. Sexual capacity is the symbol of as the ability to "[illegible]" a girl. One young [illegible] who [illegible] a girl by having intercourse with her twice each. Boys will reveal the names of their sexual partners only to close friends, and even this is rare unless a result is intended. From observation it is apparent that much of this conversation tends to exaggerate the frequency of coitus. It is probable that in summer an unmarried man has intercourse about once in seven or eight days. Since there are fewer unmarried girls available for this purpose, the frequency of coitus is considerably greater for this sex, averaging perhaps three or four times a week in summer for promiscuous young women. Along with the high value invested in sexual capacity, goes a concern for the size of the penis, a large organ being regarded as desirable and commendable.

[illegible] That the male's interest in sexual capacity and genital size may point to a fear of impotence is indicated by material collected from and about one thirty-two year old man. He was reported to suffer from acute impotence on two occasions. In an interview with the ethnographer, he once denied that virility declines with age, affirming that some old men are "stronger for girls" than young men. In a dream reported before specific reports of his impotency had been obtained, he told of being in the company of his brother when he was attacked by a grizzly bear. "My gun stuck. I got nervous. I try to take shot at him, My gun got no power. Gun [illegible] upon gun stuck. . . . I take all shells and put new shells in. He run around. He don't bite me. I get mad at grizzly bear. I holler at him: 'You better get away or I hit you with that gun.'" The informant tended to deny the interpretation equating the gun with the penis and the dream's situation with sexual impotency. The equation was inconclusive, however, the male saying that to kill a dangerous animal in a dream was a promise of effectively confronting illness. "You kill him, don't bite. You're safe . . . you're not going to die. Gun is good thing when you're dreaming."

[illegible] Active impotence under the influence of alcohol was denied by several informants, who reported an aphrodisiacal effect from liquor and beer.

[illegible] Finally, premarital sexual intercourse is disapproved of, particularly for girls. Parents, when they venture to speak of the matter, warn girls to avoid sexual relations before marriage, citing the dangers of illegitimacy and venereal infection. Such behavior may also be criticized, scolded, or otherwise punished. One girl, thirteen, who was dressing a [illegible]

I: Honigmann E-6 (1943-1961) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

sexual promiscuity, was reported to have been known "just like dog" by her mother, who herself has a widespread reputation for past promiscuity. Parents, however, are often willing to condone some premarital sexual experience in older daughters if it avoids premature entry and leads to marriage. There are few if any unmarried girls above seventeen who can be regarded as virgins or who conduct themselves in such a way as to discourage sexual advances.

Several factors are responsible for the lapse between ideal and practice. The first is the delayed age of marriage in the contemporary society. In the past, when the ideals of premarital sexuality were originally formulated, marriage for girls occurred within a year or two after menarche; now it is often postponed until eighteen or nineteen years of age. Secondly, the post-puberscent girl is often given considerable autonomy and independence, parents relaxing supervision in the face of the girl's demand for such freedom. In the past the relaxation of control would have been correlated with the young woman's adult status and channelized to marriage. If supervision is maintained over late adolescence it is resented by the girl, sexual promiscuity may then be a means of expressing revolt and independence. Finally, many of the parents of adolescents were themselves reared under social conditions similar to those obtaining today, and a great number have borne children out of wedlock. These facts are known to girls, and probably help to undermine parental assertions.

Despite the fact that premarital promiscuity is disapproved of, girls who manifest such behavior are not ostracized or avoided by other members of the society. In 1944, when a number of girls were almost nightly accepting truck rides with soldiers, one or two older men sought to communicate with some of these young women. The girls resented this overture, one telling Old Man that her activities were none of his business. Another girl, Jane Bezie, accused him of having done the same things in his youth. River Joe often criticized his brother's daughter, Irene Wiley, for her promiscuity, and unsuccessfully advised her to marry. To the ethnographer Joe complained of this girl who, refusing marriage, nevertheless would not live alone. "Maybe she look for husband, but don't think so," he said. "Anyway, none of my business." Despite his criticism of Irene's behavior, River Joe never refused to feed or shelter the girl and often expressed concern about her poor appetite.

Two types of consensual sexual relations may be distinguished in Kaska society, adultery and premarital sexual relations. Unfaithfulness in marriage is probably more common among men than women, since married women only rarely have an opportunity of meeting lovers under suitable conditions of privacy. Adultery is condemned when it occurs in either spouse and frequently leads to quarrels. It is also reported to be one occasion for a man to beat an adulteress wife, although aggression between a husband and wife's lover is rare and apparently avoided. A woman who sleeps with a married man from the jealousy and hate of the wife and drunk provoking the latter to physical violence. In general unmarried girls tend to avoid the sexual overtures of married men. Children born from a wife's adulterous relationship are frequently rejected by the husband.*

Premarital consensual sexual relations are unsanctioned and any evidence of such behavior is carefully guarded, particularly from white people. With exchange in sometimes indiscriminately arranged between two married men who are good friends or partners. In such

*See Index, p. 170

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Having established male-female ambivalence, we can now use the data as background for studying the expression of emotional ambivalence in sexual connections. 157 181

Sexual constriction. Sexual constriction refers to an ambivalent response to sexual situations whose emotional intensity threatens to break down the imperviousness of the aloof personality, and which are further perceived as providing a channel for assertive self-expression and a bridge to warm interpersonal relations. From what has been said concerning the relations of men and women, it is obvious that sexual constriction is also influenced by the circumscribed hostility and fear responsible for other manifestations of ambivalence in male-female relations. If we focus on sexual interaction as introducing two people to potentially warm and close associations, which threatens the characterological armor against intense emotional impingements, we can understand the function of sexual constriction as a defense system designed to deal safely with dangerous but nevertheless pleasurable sexual phenomena. Sexual constriction is directed not so much against the pleasure aspects of sex as against its affectional aspects.

Manifestations of sexual constriction appear in premarital sexual stimulation, the unconscious defensive use of sex act, the development of sexual incapacity, premarital and extramarital promiscuity, and in homosexuality. Our analysis will take up these points in order.

We have fully described the outstanding features of premarital sexual stimulation—gentle fondling, teasing, chasing, capture, struggle, and coitus. In discussing rape we pointed out that it was often difficult to distinguish true rape from typical premarital sexuality; both occur in Kaska society.* The pattern of premarital sexual stimulation reflects the ambivalent significance of sexuality to the adolescent personality, and may be compared to a ritual dramatizing an internal struggle in the form of mock rape. Let us review the progress of this ritual. Elements of sexual provocation and willingness, often initiated by girls, are followed by expressions of fear and hostility in which boys pursue girls. Finally the girl allows herself to be captured and, apparently only with reluctance, submits to coitus. All of these behavioral sequences are of considerable importance to the actors. Teasing, pursuit, and capture reflect the provocative pleasurable aspects of sexuality on the one hand and the fear of the emotional intensity of the situation on the other. Nobody in the ritual makes any direct gestures of surrender, but each one makes concessions—the girl by teasing and allowing herself to be caught, the boy by chasing and then taking the initiative in coitus. The behavior in both sexes also affords opportunities for symbolically denying passivity and emotional dependence and for expressing self-assertion. 157 181 234

That girls should sometimes take the initiative in sexual situations is an adjustment to the unconscious coupling of self-assertion and copulation in the male personality and the overdose fear of passivity failure. While men everywhere probably experience some fear

* Kaska's observations regarding sex crimes in western culture are applicable to the Kaska data. Such crimes, he says, when committed by men for sexual reasons are explained by sex crimes but also embody "a definition of womanhood . . . not a surrender to passion but a subduing to reason." (Kaska, Sexual Psychology, Boston, 1944.) However women, he says, often develop unconscious assistance enhancing such attacks. See Plack, Zur Psychologie der Sexualität und des Sexuellen Begehrens, Leipzig.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

157 of potency failure which conditions their attitudes toward sex,[18] among the Kaska this dan-
181 ger is made particularly severe, first, by the threat of intercourse to a personality directed
834 toward emotional aloofness and, second, by the chronic readiness to expect failure in any emotional crisis. Men, therefore, are ambivalent about taking the lead in sex or else do so, as in rape and mock rape, with real or symbolic aggression, which is supposed to reaffirm their sense of mastery.

157 The unconscious definition of the sexual act, derived from dreams and associations,
181 confirms the impression of the sexual situation as a kind of mock rape. A typical dream of
831 being pursued, similar to others several times reported by girls, comes from Marie Nolan.
787

6:30:45 (Lower Post). "Night before I went to sleep. Tom [her white husband] came home twelve o'clock. I said: 'I dream that somebody come to my camp. Who are you?' He said: 'Me. I get scared and I start to get up. He grabbed me. He said: 'What are you trying to do?' Then I woke up. He said I start to fight him."

Asked whom she thought came into the camp, Marie said she suspected it was a soldier. She was invited to talk about soldiers and revealed that on the evening preceding the dream she had been at the restaurant when one of a group of American soldiers encountered her and tried to lure her into a truck with the promise of a drink. Marie, however, ran away. She was asked to say something more about soldiers. "These soldiers American, but I don't know who they are. I like American people. They're always fine people. I like white people. I always liked them. It must be because there's half-white blood in mine." She admitted that she had always wanted to be like white people and pointed out, with some pride, that her name did not appear on the Indian census rolls.

Marie's dream expresses an ambivalent fear of sexual attack. The fact that the dream occurs simultaneously with her husband's entrance into the camp is significant, since the dream thereby juxtaposes the white solider and Marie's white husband. Further evidence of ambivalence toward the central idea of the dream, coitus, is revealed in her association to American people, whom she likes, and white people, with whom she identifies.

A somewhat similar dream was reported by eleven year old Elsie Lang.

11:30:45 (Old Man's place). "I dream soldier—they drunk." The scene of the dream was Lower Post, where the soldiers pursued Elsie who sought to escape by fleeing down the cutbank.

Elsie is too young ever to have had sexual intercourse, but the dream may be interpreted as indicating her awareness of this behavior and expresses her dread of, and probably her wish for, the experience. The same girl reported recurrent dreams of running away from attacking dogs.

Eva Ardo admitted a series of dreams reflecting fear of attacks by animals and indicating the unconscious sexual significance of animal dreams.

6:17:45 (Lower Post). "I scared when I dream beaver. If somebody kill him, I never scared beaver. . . . Everytime, that's my dream—otter, mink, beaver. That's all, Is some boy, that otter. Then he come with me and catch me pretty near. I scared. I get away. That mink just the same boy too. Same way I see grizzly bear too. Just the same like a man. Is white man. I scared that grizzly bear. I scared black bear too."

[18] Strauss, Sex and Character (1942), 24.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

157 x181 831 prevalence of premarital sexual promiscuity as well as the high incidence of extramarital adultery?

Sexual promiscuity in adolescence represents a complexly determined phenomenon, all of whose keys we cannot pretend to locate. Focussing on the motivational aspects of this behavior, with only a passing nod to the awakening glandular processes and the lack of manifest controls imposed on the behavior of adolescents, we can point to this period (when drinking also begins) as providing youth with one of the first opportunities since early childhood to experience release of emotional isolation. Promiscuity is more specifically explicable as affording the egocentric component of the girl's personality an opportunity to express itself in a revolt against her parentally enforced, passive, serving role. At this age too the boy's general self-assertion begins to be important in hunting and trapping, also embracing his awakening genitality; promiscuity means for him chances to prove himself and acquire further prestige. The biologically derived anxieties of sexual failing probably reinforce his drive to succeed in non-sexual fields, while failure in those spheres in turn intensifies potency anxiety. Finally, promiscuity offers a chance to satisfy affect hunger without involving either sex in too close or inextricable emotional bonds—safety lying in the number and variety of partners. Richard Day indicates this in his complaint of having found the effects of being in love so unpleasant that he would not want to risk the state again. He explained that love arises after copulating with the same girl several times and admitted that he avoids persistent intercourse with the same partner.[68]

157 x181 836

157 x181 837 In marriage, promiscuity is probably often a flight from the anxiety aroused by too intense interpersonal relations between two people. The ambivalence with which the spouses enter marriage foreshadows the insecurity which develops when infatuation wears off and emotional isolation begins to be threatened by the dependence promoted through living together. In view of the Indians' moderate ego tonicity, it may be expected that marriage will also cause a man to feel the pressure of economic responsibilities. A husband who tries to allay this anxiety by too great reliance on his wife invites fresh anxiety from the ensuing conflict between egocentric and dependency motives. Extramarital promiscuity and divorce are attempts to substitute transitory and unthreatening sexual experiences for oppressive marriage relations.

157 x181 838 We now come to the expression of sexual constriction in homosexuality. Again it must be emphasized that it is not our intention to explain this tendency fully but only to throw light on some of its motivational foundations. Furthermore, we do not intend to discuss overt homosexual behaviors. Mutual masturbation probably grows out of close interpersonal association but we had no opportunity to study its psychological results. We can

[68] There is little doubt that sexual promiscuity is conditioned by the social climate in which it occurs, i.e., that it is structurally related to other aspects of culture. Recent papers have begun to study this problem, from the standpoint of personality in western culture but the results must be interpreted cautiously in view of the fact that the subjects of investigation comprise a selected sample of promiscuous men, namely those who contracted venereal disease. See Wittkower and Cowan, *Some Psychological Aspects of Sexual Promiscuity* (1944), and Watts and Wilson, *A Study of Personality Factors among Venereal Disease Patients* (1945). It has also been pointed out that female promiscuity may be a product of poor emotional adjustment and latent homosexuality. See Dupouy and Picard, *Une érotomanie médicale* (1928).

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

In August my mother still had quite a few marten that her husband had trapped. She came to see Dan with the skins and said: "I'll give you three hundred dollars to buy my kid back. He's my sister's son." A half-breed was the interpreter. Dan said: "I don't want your money. We'll give you back your son in two days." Then they gave me back to her. They also gave her a pile of blankets and plenty of grub. They gave me back because my mother cried so much. I went with her toward Pelly River and we stayed there for two years. I trapped marten and some lynx. 159

I never thought about girls and marriage. I just looked to my traps. I never got into any fights. Then my mother died of indigestion. Her daughter's husband, my brother-in-law took her down to Pelly Banks and buried her near where my uncle was buried. We stayed at Ross River a while, trapping the country, and then came down close to Frances Lake where we found the tracks of many people. We followed the tracks and found Enainta's son. This was the first time they had come to Frances Lake. Usually they lived in the Hyland River country. We stayed with them till spring came on and then the old chief called a meeting. He talked a long time about how wise people had been in the old days and how good the old people had been in caring for widows. The chief took me and said I was going to help him till he got old. I worked with him for about a year. Then my cousin, Little Willy, saw me and I went down to Lower Post with him. We went to the Hyland River to trap; Skipper came along too. We came back to hunt beaver on the Liard around Albert [Cormier] Creek, where the bridge is now.

When my brother [cousin], Willy, was full grown, he suggested we go down to Fort Liard. So we walked through Hell's Gate Canyon and then made a scow. I was about twenty-five years old then. Fort Liard was a nice place. We bought an outfit and I decided to come back again in two or three years. Then we went to Fort Nelson. The post was on the east bank near the mouth of the Muskwa River. Here we met people who were very much like the Fort Liard people, but nicer. I figured I'd get married here, having my eyes on a nice girl, Marie. Her father was white and her mother came from Fort Norman on the Mackenzie. She left the key to the house for me and I went there about twelve o'clock at night. I climbed up the ladder to her room. Downstairs her folks were drunk. I stayed with her that night. I went home in daylight and came back the next night. We did this until one time her mother came upstairs and found me. She asked me if we were going to be married and I said we were. Her mother said that was all right. But Marie's father didn't want it. He wanted Marie to marry a white man. 159 836

I came back to Lower Post and found Oscar Anderson running the store here. I worked for Anderson a long time, helping around the store, hauling wood and water, cleaning, and working in the garden. He treated me fine and always gave me a drink. One time Old Anderson met me when I was so drunk that I couldn't walk but crawled. He asked: "Can I carry you home?" "No," I said, "I can make it." The next day he asked me: "What were you drinking?" I told him, two bottles of rum. He said that was all right but warned me not to drink home brew. "You'll kill yourself that way," he promised. In the winter time I trapped for fur. 159 464

Then, one summer, I went to work tracking boats up Dease River for the Hudson's Bay Company. Since then I haven't been off the river for a single year until this summer.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

159 464 Any strangers coming from Telegraph Creek knew me as a good river man and they'd hire me to take them down to Lower Post.

159 437 A few years later I went back to Fort Liard to sell some skins. Before I went I bought a little outfit. Oscar helped me. He gave me good advice. "Don't trade for credit," he said, "They cheat you every time. If the storeman doesn't use the scale make him use it. Tell him we're going to report him if he doesn't use it." At that time the storeman in Fort Liard never used money. He just wrote and said: "You've got so much." Old Anderson warned me: "If he does that, you can ask for cash." I took about twenty skins to Fort Liard. Old Kean came too. He had about thirty beaver. I sold my fur and the storeman started to write it down. "You've got one hundred dollars in skins," he said. "What do you mean?" I asked. "You'd better give me cash." "This is just as good as cash," the storeman replied. "We want our money," I told him. When he went to the till he said. "I have only two hundred dollars here." I told him: "You're not going to use that for yourself, that's for the Indians." The Fort Liard Indians looked at us. He gave us all that money but said: "You'll spoil the Fort Liard Indians." "Should be all over the country like that," I told him.

159 797 In Telegraph Creek I had met Pallgrave, the Protestant churchman, who baptized me. When I got to Fort Liard I met Father Grouard. He warned me not to believe what the Protestant missionaries said about the Catholics and said the Protestants were wrong in what they preached. He asked me if I wanted to be baptized and I agreed. Later I told Pallgrave that Father Grouard had baptized me. He became angry and said I had already been baptized a Protestant.

159 481 One time I ran eighty miles across the portage from Telegraph Creek to Dease Lake. I started at seven o'clock in the morning and got there about half-past seven at night. only stopped for a little lunch. Gosh, when I got there, how my feet swelled up!

159 836 Four years after I started to work on the river, in 1914, I married Nelly. Her mother was a Nelson Indian and part Cree. Her father used to be in this country but went to Fort Nelson to work on a boat. Her parents had moved back to Lower Post about two or three years before. We were engaged for two years and when I wasn't in Telegraph Creek or working on the river I slept with her. In the winter I trapped with Nelly's father thirty miles down the Liard, near the Muddy River. My brother said: "You stay here too long just playing. You better marry her." Then we stayed together in front of everybody. She was a good wife and a good worker. In 1915 we had our first kid, a boy.

159 When I was first married and had only one child, I was like all young fellows. I didn't try to rustle but lay around most of the time. I hunted all right but gave all the meat away. My brother warned: "You're going to wake up yet." My wife then gave birth to a girl. I asked my brother for a hundred dollars to buy an outfit. He said: "You won't get it." He let me have fifty dollars to buy some stuff. We didn't carry much grub, a hundred pounds of flour was enough for me. I bought a case of milk and other stuff. That kid liked to eat all the time. My brother said: "You'd better rush." One time I made seventy lynx. That was during the first war and prices were way down. I got about four dollars for a lynx and two dollars for a good black marten. Nelly gave birth to three children. We were trapping near Teslin Lake when she died of flu in 1919.

My mother-in-law took care of the children and sometimes I lived there too. I used to

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahâne ND12

159 home, I had blood all over me. Once I went to a moose lick to try for a moose. It was a hot day and, while I sat watching for a moose to come, I began to feel sleepy. Finally I went to sleep. I woke up and I saw a moose. That was the second game I killed. I turned him over, all right. I got goats too, but I never killed sheep. As soon as I started to bring home meat, I fed myself. Metîa didn't have to feed me anymore. I brought home everything—rabbits, fish, chicken, porcupine, and moose.

Just once I tried to stay out in the brush long enough to get medicine. But nothing saw me. I wasn't lucky. Nothing wanted me.

159 When I was still a kid, I saw a fellow playing with a girl. "What the hell?" I said. It
● 836 scared me. I thought I would kill a girl if I ever tried that. By the time I started to grow whiskers, I was playing with girls myself. At first I was scared, but when I found out what it was—by Jesus, I liked it! One girl wanted me, but I didn't want her. She liked me and kept bothering me. She made me run after her and then I caught her.

159 When I was about eighteen years old, I stayed with Martin's bunch. Charlie was Martin's kid. Charlie was living with that bunch and had a kid, Adele. Adele's mother had come from Fort Selkirk, but she was dead. Now Charlie was keeping another woman who had two kids in Pelly Banks. Adele ran around and a young fellow slept with her. He made her pregnant and Charlie was ashamed. Many times he asked me to marry Adele. He wanted me to help him out. It was pretty hard for me to live alone. Nobody cooked for me; I'd come home late at night, tired, and sleep alone. So I told Charlie "All right." I was ready to keep his girl. When the baby was born, Charlie took him. My father-in-law treated me well. He's just like my real daddy. When I get moose, I give him meat. He's not my boss. Nobody is boss for another man. My father-in-law talked to me and said: "Don't fool around. Stay in the post. Don't play around. Don't drink."

Every fall we went into the brush with a little grub. That soon ran out, though, and then we lived on meat. I'd go hunting, come back tired, and go to sleep. The next day, hunt again. When there was no meat and when we got tired of meat, we lived on fish. Everybody fishes at Frances Lake. Winter time is no good. Sometimes, in the fall, the snow would fly and I'd have no snowshoes. That made for hard traveling. Lots of wood would have to be cut. Everything was frozen up. Life was hard up at Frances Lake. People didn't catch much fur. They didn't have enough credit to live on, and everybody was afraid of starving. We had to hunt, hunt, hunt. Maybe, if I stayed out five days, I'd get a moose. After I brought the meat home, I'd go out again and set some traps. Soon the meat was all gone. That meant it was time to hunt again. If there was no moose, we lived on snared rabbits. All the time camp was being moved. Sometimes I'd have to work while I was hungry. Then you feel weak and sick. Your stomach is empty. A man feels strong only when he has food. Sometimes we cooked wild rhubarb. On the mountains there is a little leaf that tastes just like sugar when it is boiled up. Indians have a hard life. One time I cut my knee and pus came out. For a whole month I couldn't work. My leg was stiff. I also went to Pelly Banks to hunt caribou; there are many caribou up there. About two years ago, while I was trapping, I had to travel all night. I looked up and the moon was only half in the sky. The other half went into the sky. You could see a fire. Then the other half of the moon came back. I had never seen that happen before.

159 221 My father-in-law trapped around Simpson Lake. In October we hunted moose there. In

884 [836] [784]

A few stole away at night to visit or sleep with sweethearts, but this was not the rule. Most lads were afraid to have any connection with the opposite sex, at least during their training period, for it was believed a lad doing so would be retarded in obtaining a manitou and would never be a good hunter. It is said the young men had a great deal of fun among themselves and many did; married men consider the years they spent in the young men's lodge as the most happy time of their lives.

MARRIAGE

582 584 583

Persons could only marry members of the opposite phratry and never one of their own. The male took the initiative and did the choosing in marrying the girl of his choice. His mother with her husband then went to see the girl's parents. If they were agreeable the marriage was thereupon arranged and the lad was told he would get the girl. The lad now commenced to work for his future parents-in-law. He gathered and split wood for them whenever he saw they required help of this kind, and he also hunted frequently and gave them the game he killed. He was very attentive to them and was constantly on the alert to do them some service. If his future parents-in-law went off on some lengthy hunting or trapping trip he accompanied them and worked for them. He also hunted

or had become pubescent.

Girls when married at once took off their necklaces, collars and other ornaments they wore which were emblematic of maidenhood.

They also changed their style of hair dress and henceforth wore their hair as women did in a single braid which hung full length down the back. After marriage they seldom painted their faces except for dances. There were no marriage dances nor marriages by touching as among the Salish tribes. Neither were there marriages by elopement nor by feats of strength, etc., such as wrestling as is said to have been the case in some tribes to the North (Eskimo, for instance).

Sometimes a lad was suspected of sleeping with a girl and was found out. The girl's mother then asked her daughter the truth of the matter. She would acknowledge what she had done and give her reason as owing to her love for the lad or man. The mother then went to the lad's father and told him. If the two families were of about equal rank a marriage was then generally easily arranged. If however the lad's father was very wealthy or of high rank and the girl belonged to a very poor or low family there was often difficulty and much bad feeling. Perhaps the lad's father did not wish his son to marry into such a family. If the lad was in love with the girl he sometimes managed after a

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard
Dease River

841 her usual long dress and donned a knee-length garment specifically designed for such a time. She also padded her breech cloth with moss to absorb the blood. In the event that in following a traveling party she came across the scene of a moose kill, blue and red paint applied across her cheeks in horizontal lines was supposed to prevent her from seeing the animal's blood. Always the menstruant carefully avoided stepping across snowshoes, bows, or arrows. If her camp traveled by water she followed in her own canoe. A man avoided the camp where his wife stayed, fearing that close contact with the menstrual blood would cause his legs to become sore and thus render him incapable of hunting or performing other work. A menstruating wife who struck her husband's trail while he was on a war party imperiled him seriously. Hence such a woman did not move around when her husband was away fighting. Sexual intercourse with a menstruant caused a man to pass blood in his urine so that he would sicken and die. Despite this belief boys seized on the easy accessibility of girls in seclusion who, in turn, did not always resist their advances. When they became ill the youths might confess such an offense.[10]

● [836]

866 *Dease River Kaska.* Even before a boy reached puberty he began to participate in exercises designed to toughen him and induce resistance to cold. Stripped to the skin, boys plunged into icy water. Upon emerging they were whipped on the upper arms by fathers or grandfathers using willow switches. A boy did not cry out or flinch under this treatment, which continued until he became adult. The informant lauded the effectiveness of these induration customs, explaining that because of their hunters could sleep outdoors in winter without a robe to protect them from the cold.[11]

881 Upon reaching menarche the Dease River girl retired to a camp located some distance from the family dwelling. Here she was surrounded by a circular enclosure made by planting willows in the ground and enclosing an area three feet in diameter. In winter a six-foot high spruce bark conical shelter provided the menstruant with a hut. Explaining sequestration, an informant said that it prevented the death of the girl's brother. During her seclusion the girl covered herself with a sleeveless robe of fully tanned caribou skin fashioned with a hood that extended nearly a foot in front of her

[10] Among the Pelly River people, "when a girl first comes to the age of puberty she was made to go away about a quarter of a mile from the main camp and camp alone in a skin tent. She was allowed to cook nothing. Food was sent by a female from her father's camp and no male was allowed to see her or pass close where she was stopping as if he did it was supposed to bring him bad luck either by sickness or hunting. She wore a mask over her face which she wore whenever she came out of her tent. If the Indians move camp she came last and camped behind them whenever she camped. If it was winter one or two of the other females travelled with her and they put green boughs across every track that crossed their trail when the track came on a trail no matter where it went or no matter what the track was they had to shut it off before the girl could pass. . . . After this, whenever she had her monthlies, whether she was married or not, she had to camp alone for at least four days, but did not have to wear a mask or put boughs across any track she might cross in travelling." Field, *Unpublished manuscript* (1913), 8.

[11] Among the Tahltan, adult men who wished to harden themselves reportedly whipped each other's backs with willow switches. Plunging nude into snowbanks and ice water was a common exercise. (Jenness, *The Indians of Canada* [1932], 372.) "Puberty ceremonials appear to be rather strongly developed," says Teit for the Tahltan, adding that "a whipping custom was prevalent. . . ." Teit, *On Tahltan (Athabaskan) Work* (1912), 485.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River

face. The hood obscured any view the sky, which was partly its intended function. Below the robe she wore ordinary garb. The pubescent used water sparingly during her seclusion, drinking through a quill or willow tube whose use prevented diarrhoea. To scratch the head with fingers threatened loss of her hair; hence the scratching stick of wood or bone. Initial seclusion is said to have lasted from three months to a year. If the parents moved camp in this period the girl was escorted by her mother. Upon crossing a frozen lake the girl occasionally planted a willow stick in the snow.[13] Menstruants did not have to break a fresh trail. Informants could not recall the bull boat or canoe used along the Fort Nelson and lower Liard rivers.[14] Subsequent to menarche the girl dispensed with the ceremonial paraphernalia but passed each period in a brush camp where she stayed for three or four days. A padding of dry moss inside the breech cloth served to absorb the menstrual blood.

Ideally it was dangerous to have sex relations with a menstruating woman, nevertheless boys eluding adult watchfulness, sometimes visited the camp of a sequestrated girl and engaged her in coitus. The following remarks transcribed from a 23-year old woman refer specifically to the post-contact period but probably reveal some of the sentiments and conditions formerly associated with menstrual ceremonialism.[15] Speaking of her initial seclusion, which she passed in the house, the girl said:

> I stayed in the house one month and never see my brother. Mama had to cook two bannocks and I only eat dry meat. I had to pick needles off spruce brush so I could sew good. If I get fresh meat my uncle or my daddy have to chew it for me. Not allowed to laugh for one month! Not supposed to eat wild rhubarb. They say you get gray quick. Never eat fresh berries. My aunt had tent alone but me winter time and I stay in the house. When my grandpa come back I go with my aunt. When a man come into the house I must not look at him but I talk to him. My grandma always watch. Used to be that boy did same thing like girl.
>
> I wanted to go to dance. I sneak out when grandma went but I hear grandma come and I come back. I tell grandma I want to go but she say no. Gee, I get mad. Mama and daddy they all go. Grandma always watch, just like policeman.
>
> All the boys go in May's tent [the informant's aunt] when grandma sleep. In morning they all go. Grandma never know. That's why mama never lose one kid, we all live. My auntie [referring to another aunt, not May] lose lots of kids. My auntie never tell when she get sick. May she tell but she never do right. That's why we lose our auntie. They say that's May's fault.
>
> When a woman sees moose or caribou she takes match box and turns it around and around [describes a circle with her hand]. First time you handle knife somebody hold your hand and make you cut. Woman does this. A man makes you chop things with ax. A woman makes you sew.

Attention may be called to the informant's statement, "Used to be that boy did same thing like girl." It is not clear if the informant intended to refer to the youth's vision quest or to his puberty ceremony. Such a ceremony is reported for other Athapaskan people.[16]

[13] This sounds reminiscent of the ritual followed by returning warriors among the Upper Liard Kaska. See above, p. 95.

[14] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 85, 91.

[15] The informant is Dorothy Plover. See Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 34, 340-350.

[16] Osgood, *Ethnography of the Tanaina* (1937), 163-165.